



KNOWLEDGE . . . LIBERTY . . . UTILITY . . . REPRESENTATION . . . RESPONSIBILITY.

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NO. 8.

DESTINY.

THE FUTURE DESTINY OF THE WORLD.

By M. DE CHATEAUBRIAND.

Europe is hastening to Democracy. What is France but a republic, fettered by a director? Nations have outgrown their swaddling clothes; they have attained their majority, and pretend that they have no longer need of guardians. From the time of David down to our days, kings have been at the head of affairs—it seems now to be the turn of the people. The short exceptions of the Greek, Carthaginian, and Roman republics, do not change the general fact of the political state of antiquity, viz. that monarchy was the established condition of society, all over the globe: now, all societies abandon monarchy, or at least monarchy, such as we have hitherto known it.

The symptoms of the social transformation abound. In vain do we attempt to reconstitute a party for the absolute government of one man; the elementary principles of this government are not to be found; men have changed as well as principles. Though facts sometimes appear to oppose each other, they nevertheless concur towards the same result, like the wheels of a machine, which, turning in opposite directions, produce a common action.

Sovereigns, by gradually submitting to necessary liberties, by detaching themselves without violence, and without shock, from their pedestal, might transmit to their descendants, for a longer or shorter period, their hereditary sceptre, reduced to proportions measured by the laws. France would have more calmly ensured her happiness and her independence, by keeping a child who could not have made of the days of July, a shameful deception; but nobody understood the event. Kings persist in keeping what they cannot retain: instead of descending gently by an inclined plane, they expose themselves to the danger of falling into the abyss; monarchy, instead of dying a glorious death, full of honors and of years, runs the risk of being flayed alive—a melancholy mausoleum at Venice contains only the skin of an illustrious general. The countries least prepared for liberal institutions, such as Spain and Portugal, are impelled to constitutional movements. In these countries, ideas outstrip men.—France and England, like two mighty battering-rams, shake, by reiterated blows, the crumbling ramparts of ancient society. The boldest doctrines on property, equality, and liberty, are proclaimed morning and evening, in the face of monarchs, who tremble behind a triple line of suspected soldiers. The deluge of democracy is gaining upon them—they ascend from story to story, from the ground floor to the roof of their palaces, whence they will cast themselves into the waves that will swallow them up.

The discovery of printing has changed the conditions of society; the press, a machine which cannot now be broken, will continue to destroy the ancient world till it has formed a new one. Printing is only the creating word of all powers; the word (*la parole*) created the universe: unhappily the word (*le Verbe*) in man partakes of human infirmity; it will mingle evil with good, till our fallen nature shall have recovered its original purity.

Thus the transformation brought on by the age of the world will take place; every thing is calculated on this plan; nothing is now possible but the natural death of society, as at present constituted, which must lead to its regeneration. It is impiety to contend with the angel of God, to fancy we shall arrest the designs of Providence. Behold from this elevated point of view, the French revolution is but a small part of the general revolution; all impatience ceases, all the maxims of ancient policy become inapplicable. Louis Philippe has brought the Democratic fruit nearer, by half a century, to its maturity. The stratum of civism in which Philippiism has planted itself, being less exhausted by the revolution, than the military and popular strata, still furnishes some sap for the vegetation of the government of the 7th August; but it will soon be exhausted.

The reign of Louis Philippe, rising amidst the universal order, is only an apparent anomaly, not a real infraction of the laws of morality and equity; these laws have been violated in a limited and relative sense—they are followed in an unlimited and general sense. From an enormity allowed by God, I should draw a more elevated conclusion; I should deduce the *Christian* proof of the abolition of royalty in France: this very abolition, and not individual punishment, would be the expiation of the death of Louis XVI. No one has been permitted after that just prince, permanently to wear the diadem. Napoleon saw it fall from his brows, notwithstanding his victories; Charles X. notwithstanding his piety. To complete the degradation of the crown in the eyes of the people, the son of the regicide may have been permitted to recline for a moment, as a mock king, on the ensanguined couch of the martyr.

For the last forty years, all the governments in France have perished by their own fault. Louis XVI. might twenty times have saved his crown and his life;—the republic sunk only under the excess of its crimes;—Bonaparte might have established his dynasty, and he precipitated himself from the summit of his glory;—but for the ordinances of July, the legitimate throne would be still standing. The present government, however, does not appear likely to commit a fault fatal to its existence; its power will never be suicidal; all its skill is exclusively devoted to its own preservation—it is too intelligent to die of a folly; it has nothing in it to render it guilty of the mistakes of genius, or of the weaknesses of virtue.

But, after all, it must go. What are three, four, six, ten, twenty years, in the career of a people? The former state of society perished with the Christian policy from which it issued. At Rome, the government of a man was substituted for that of the law by Cæsar; they passed from the republic to the empire. The revolution now proceeds in a contrary direction; the power of the law takes the place of that of man; we pass from royalty to republicanism. The era of the people has returned; it remains to be seen how it will be filled up.

First of all, Europe must be equalised on the same system; we cannot suppose a representative government in France, and absolute monarchies in its neighborhood. But to effect this, it is but too probable that we shall have foreign wars, and at home a two-fold anarchy, both moral and physical.

"If property alone were in question, will it not be touched? will it remain distributed as it now is? A society in which individuals possess an income of two millions, while others are obliged to fill their mean dwellings with heaps of filth, in order to collect worms, which worms sold to the fishermen are the only means of subsistence of these families, which are themselves aborigines of the dunghill; can such a society remain stationary, on such foundations, and amidst the progress of ideas?"

"But if property is touched, immense convulsions will ensue, which will not be effected without bloodshed. The law of blood and of sacrifice meets us every where. God delivered up his Son to the cross, to renew the order of the universe. Before a new law shall have issued from this chaos, the stars will have many times risen and set. Eighteen hundred years which have elapsed since the Christian era have not sufficed for the abolition of slavery; but a very small part of the Evangelic mission is yet accomplished.

These calculations do not suit the impatience of the French: in the revolutions which they have affected, they have never admitted the element of time—for this reason, they will always be confounded by results contrary to their hopes. While they are overturning, time is arranging; it brings order into disorder; rejects the unripe fruit, and gathers that which is mature; sifts men, manners, and ideas.

What will the new state of society be? I cannot tell; its laws are unknown to me; I do not comprehend it, any more than the ancients could comprehend the state of society without slaves, produced by Christianity. How will fortunes be brought to a level? how will wages be adjusted to labor? how will woman attain to complete emancipation? I know not. Hitherto society

has proceeded by *aggregation* and by *families*: what aspect will it bear when it shall be merely *individual*, as it is tending to become, as we see it already form itself in the United States? Probably the *human race* will grow greater; but it is to be feared that *man* will grow less—that eminent genius will be lost—that imagination, poetry, the arts, will expire in the cells of a society like a bee-hive, in which each individual will be but a bee—a wheel in a machine—an atom in organised matter. If the Christian religion were to be extinguished, the world would come through liberty to that social petrification which China has attained through slavery.

Modern society has taken ten centuries to compose itself; it is now decomposing itself. The generations of the middle ages were vigorous, because they were in the *ascending* progression. We are weak, because we are in the *descending* progression. This waning world will not recover its strength till it shall have reached the lowest degree, when it will begin to *reascend* to a new life. I see, indeed, a population which proclaims its power, which cries, '*I will!*' the future is mine! I discover the universe! those who came before me saw nothing! the world was waiting for me! I am incomparable! my forefathers were children and idiots!"

Have the facts corresponded with these magnificent words? What hopes have been deceived, with respect both to talents and to characters? If you except about thirty men of real merit, what a herd have we of libertine, abortive generations, without convictions without political or religious faith, scrambling for money and places, like beggars for a distribution of alms—a flock which owns no shepherd, which runs from the plain to the mountain from the mountain to the plain, disdaining the experience of the old herdsman, inured to the wind and the rain. We are but transitory, intermediate, obscure generations, devoted to obli-vion—forming the chain to reach the hands which will reap the harvest of futurity.

If it were true that the exalted races of kings, refusing to become enlightened, approached the termination of their power, would it not be better for their historical glory, that, by an end worthy of their grandeur, they should retire into the sacred night of past ages? Life prolonged beyond the bounds of a splendid existence is worthless. The world becomes weary of you and the noise you make. Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon, disappeared according to the rules of glory: to die nobly (*pour mourir beau*) you must die young. Give not the children of the spring occasion to say, 'How! is this that reputation, that person, that race, for which the world clapped its hands, for a lock of hair, a smile, a look of whom life would have been thought too mean a sacrifice? How melancholy is it to see the aged Louis XIV., a stranger to the new generation, with nobody about him to converse with him of his own times, but the old Duke de Villeroi! It was a last victory for the great Condé in his dotage to have met on the brink of the grave with Bossuet: the orator reanimated the silent waters of Chantilly; he cheered the second childhood of the old man, by recalling the glories of his youth; and by bidding an immortal adieu to his white hairs, restored the dark ringlets of youth to the brow of the victor of Rocroy. Oh, ye men who love glory, take care of your tomb; lay yourselves well in it; endeavour to make a good figure in it, for there you will remain!"

CHATEAUBRIAND.

The *London Examiner*, the very best paper in London, is published once a week, in a quarto size—has for its standing motto, the following pithy sentence from *Daniel De Foe*.

If I might give a short hint to an impartial writer, it would be to tell him his fate. If he resolves to venture upon the dangerous precipice of telling unbiassed truth, let him proclaim war with mankind *à la mode le pays de Pole*—neither to give nor take quarter. If he tells the crimes of great men, they fall upon him with the iron hand of the law; if he tells their virtues, when they have any, then the mob attacks him with slander. But if he regards truth, let him expect martyrdom on both sides, and then he may go on fearlessly; and this is the course I take myself.—*DE FOE*.



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PHILADELPHIA, AUG. 30, 1834.

The actual state of the public mind in relation to the United States Bank, should be a lesson to every man capable of exercising a free judgment. This city was never more prosperous, nor business generally, more active. Men who looked on the panic with a clear perception, smile now at the credulity that was affected by the artifices of the Bank; and are silent in charity to those who were duped or frightened by the shameless and wanton artifices. The people are now enquiring what was the intention of the Bank in exciting a panic?

The question must be taken to pieces, in order to see it clearly, and in its proper point of view.

The first piece of the panic was to influence both houses of Congress against the Executive.

The second piece of the panic was to agitate the people, and through their passions, to produce an action upon Congress.

The third piece of the panic, which was dovetailed into the other two—was the future succession to the Presidency.

Well, what was to be the effect of all this excitement, to produce which so much money had been lavished—so much mischief effected?

Why, it was to restore the deposits to be sure! only to restore the deposits! that, they said, was all!!

Yet, strange to tell, during this whole time, the amount actually spoken of did not much exceed seven millions!—not one dollar of which was contemplated to be removed.

The purpose and the plan of the Executive, who alone had the constitutional right and power of removal, was not to remove from the United States Bank what was then in it—but simply this—that after the day designated, the revenue accruing should not be paid into that Bank, its charter being near its termination, but that the future deposits should be disposed of otherwise than in that expiring Bank.

This was the whole operation of the governmental policy. How did the emissary presses and agents of the Bank represent the case?

They held forth, without expressing the idea, that the public money then in the Bank was to be immediately withdrawn—and that the whole business of the country was, in consequence, to be paralyzed!

What! the whole circulation of this continent to be affected by the removal of \$ 7,000,000 across a street! Not a dollar of it diverted from circulation, not a dollar of it applied to any other use than the use intended by the public appropriations of law.

Yet, strange as it is, the country was agitated, business paralyzed, and the public interests most seriously affected; and it is only now, after the whole folly has exploded, that the public see how liable they are to be cheated—and how a free people, and a free government, may be placed in temporary jeopardy, by the deliberate wickedness and desperation of a corporation, which had not two years to exist, and which must, in eighteen months, wind up its whole concerns!

There is nothing more soberly true than that the folly of the Bank Directors has been fatal to the very objects they sought. The great mass of the people, had through prosperity, forgotten all that had been said as to the Bank; but the Bank aroused the people, and—that was the beginning of its end.

THE IRISH AND IRELAND.

NO. III.

History is of no more use than a Scot's novel, unless it be brought into comparison with our immediate concerns, and the means by which our own happiness may be promoted or destroyed. It is very true, that in general, nearly every history we have, partakes of the prejudices or prepossessions of the author, from Herodotus to Hume; but it should be read with this presentiment, and the statements given as history, should be received but as reports, subject to be recanvassed and tested, by those means, through which a just criticism holds jurisdiction over all the acts and opinions of mankind.

Thomas Jefferson has frequently said in the writer's hearing—"There are two books which have a very wide circulation among us, which are put into the hands of American young men, upon whose minds and principles they hold a most pernicious influence, and do incalculable injury, under our free institutions." The books adverted to are Hume's *History of England*, and Blackstone's *Commentaries*. The first by his servile and adulatory maxims of government; the latter by placing the barbarous authority of barbarian times, upon equal terms with truth and natural rights. It is not the present purpose to comment on these facts. Hume has found a powerful expositor in a writer of his own country, Mr. Alexander Brodie, who has exposed with a pencil of light, the gross and wanton perversion of truth, throughout the history of Hume; a work so able and approved, as to have led Mr. Brodie to be distinguished by an appointment, worthy of his talents, under the British government.

As to Blackstone, we see it every day in the delirious composition and logic of congressional speechification; and that law logic, which would make a nose of wax of the Constitution, by construing it upon common law opinions! "That question is settled," said a pupil of Blackstone; "the judges have in the case of *Marbury*, settled the constitutionality!" Then up comes Mr. W. Rawle, with his *Commentary*—Mr. Bayard, with his *Commentary*—Mr. Gordon, with his *Constitutional History*—and last, not least, Mr. Duponceau, with his *Prevotal Address to the Law Academy*—all mere echos of Blackstone and Mansfield; a Bank has been chartered, therefore a Bank is constitutional; and chapter and verse are referred to, in which is exhibited the paradox of judges constituting themselves legislators, under the color of interpreting, and the professors and pupils of the craft, constituting themselves lawgivers, by expounding and recording the dicta of vindictive, supple, treacherous, or arbitrary judges.

When we see these things among ourselves—the flagrant fraud, in active and almost unquestioned operation, under a government which stands upon the well adjusted foundations of a Constitution, limiting, restraining, and declaring what shall be law, and what shall not, when not granted—when we see the people passive under this usurpation, so wide spread, so insidious, and so diffusive, we may with the emotions which such considerations excite, turn with advantage to other history, and in the fate of other nations bowed down by the enormities of power, in all its delegations, mark by contrast the good we possess, and be warned against the evil to which our supineness exposes us.

It is in this bold and fearless spirit, that an American should read Hume, and his imitators; the stipendiary fabricators of histories, Gillies, and Bisset, and Mitford, &c. should question them, and by the standard of human freedom, the Declaration of Independence, learn to doubt their facts in the detection of their anti-social, servile, or arbitrary principles.

This is a longer preamble than we contemplated, in commencing a third number of our essays on Irish history; but the name of Hume is so linked with servile doctrines, and arbitrary principles, that we were led away from the

intended notice of his wicked and contemplated violations of truth, in relation to the history of Ireland.

The earliest of the English historians, from Geraldus Cambrensis, to Stanhurst, Coxe, down to Hume, have displayed an undisguised malignancy against that people whose crimes were the beauty and fertility of their people and country, and the courage and constancy with which they resisted and repelled, and discomfited their invaders, during a long and successful resistance of four hundred and fifty years, and the extinction of more than four millions of the human race. These were their offences, they would not submit; they were indeed accused of the unpardonable sins of speaking a language which had been vernacular at Sidon, Tyre, and Carthage—they wore their hair in flowing ringlets, and what was worst of all, wore short breeches and long shirts of fine linen, stained with saffron—they had the temerity to shave the lower jaw, and wear dandy mustachios on the upper lip—and they had the fear of God so little before their eyes, that they exercised coshering, gossiping, and fosterage, and various other kinds of hospitality to which their neighbors were entire strangers. If those were not sufficient motives for conquest and massacre, and the extermination of a whole people, then the Boston Port Bill, and the Battle of Bunkers' Hill, carried no consequences with them.

Gerald Cambrensis, or Gerald Barry, a bishop in Wales, accompanied Prince John (afterwards king) to Ireland, as his Mentor, and laid that foundation of calumny, prejudice and hatred, of the Irish people, upon which so many superstructures were afterwards erected. Mrs. Trollope was a panegyrist compared with this holy bishop; and the occurrence of candor, truth or justice, in the English annals of Ireland, stand like the rare oasis in the African desert.

It should be kept in constant remembrance by whoever takes an interest in the history of the Irish people, that the pretexts of invasion were no better than if during the progress of the nullification threatenings and bullying in South Carolina, the English should have sent a body of freebooters to aid in the civil war, and after superceding those who had invited them thither, they used the traitors and their deluded followers, to make a conquest of the whole Union. The pretext was no better, so far as the comparison goes; but though they obtained a local habitation, and in the course of four hundred and fifty-one years, gained the dominion of six counties, out of the thirty-two, denominated the counties of the pale, in the common history; religious pretexts had not yet grown up to furnish arguments, in the name of God, to exterminate the descendants of the Canaanites, as the demon of the Jews had commanded the extermination of their ancestors.

Mr. John Quincy Adams has made the perfidy of the Irish nullifier, Dermot M. Murrough, the subject of a whimsical poem, and had it been treated with the gravity which is appropriate to the exposition of great atrocities, might have served as a medium of historical justice and moral warning. It calls to recollection an example of the historical talent of the Welsh Bishop, whose mantle appears to have fallen upon Hume, Leland and Taylor, &c. Mr. Adams in the preface to his poem, after citing Hume's eulogy on Henry II. thus exclaims, "so much for Hume's philosophy, teaching by the example of Henry II. If there be in the annals of the human race, a transaction of deeper or more melancholy depravity, than the conquest of Ireland, by Henry II. it has not fallen under my notice."

Yet the most atrocious of the depravities of the English historians, have escaped Mr. Adams; we shall cite a case, which had it been known to Mr. Adams, would have furnished a mournful episode to his general subject.

The general moral excuse for the invasion of Ireland, besides the religious gift by the Pope, and the merit of subjugating barbarians, is the infidelity of the Lady De-

voorghal, the Helen of the Irish Illiad. The Chronicler of this ravishment, was the pious Bishop of Wales, and his narration is adapted to produce an extenuation of outrage, founded on an alleged depravity of the wronged; a crime which every follower of Gerald Cambrensis, has invariably imitated.

The lady upon whose reputed frailty the Irish invasion is palliated, was *Devoorghal*, wife of O'Rourke, chief of Brefinny. Cambrensis describes this lady as a *voluntary* adulteress, flying into the arms of her paramour *Murtough*, the chief of Leinster. But the history is more honestly told by Mr. Adams, so far as he has given it. The Leinster chief was a licentious tyrant, odious to his own countrymen, who were anxious to throw off his yoke. This chief had formed a design on the much celebrated *Devoorghal*—and choosing an occasion when her husband was in a distant province, seized and carried her off. This outrage expelled Dermot, who took refuge in England—and *Devoorghal* was restored inviolate to her husband. The malice of the Monk of Wales had made her the seducer of Dermot, because it was necessary to form an apology for a traitor, who had become an ally and a vassal; but no one acquainted with Irish ideas of moral sentiment, could be imposed upon; the very return of *Devoorghal* to her liege lord, independent of authentic history, would have settled that point; to apologise for succoring a traitor, it was necessary to extenuate his crimes, and by a refinement in priestly malice, to excuse a ruffian by ascribing crime to an injured and lovely woman, of whose virtues and qualities the memorials are abundant.

Let us now proceed to pursue the *clues* of modern history, by testing the assertion of the *Morning Chronicle*, of 3d April, 1834, which says, "If the English invaders of Ireland were a set of *freebooters*, it does not follow, that the present race have any disposition to imitate their ancestors." Now the very fact we propose to demonstrate, is that the *present race* continue to "abuse their superiority."

The Irish code of Queen Anne, enacted in the name of God, and under color of the Christian model, exceeds in deliberate barbarity all that can be cited of crime against Jenghis Khan, or any disciple of the Koran. The successors of Anne, down to George III., pursued her pious theory of doing honor to God and man! The collapse of natural energy, into which the Irish sunk after the breach of the treaty of Limerick, left them no resources but those which are derived from social intercourse among a people doomed to proscription, in the land rendered sacred by the memorials constantly present of former happiness, under an apparently interminable bondage. The proscription of the religion and the language among a people peculiarly susceptible and proud, only rendered both more dear to them. Their sufferings were arguments—and what they could not enjoy in possession, they naturally resorted to the last consolation of a people who have no other resource than in the memorials of past times, in the cultivation of letters, in the critical study of that ancient language, through which they found access to their legends.

In free states the independence of every man of every other, superinduces coldness and rough manners. It is under despotism or among an enslaved, subjected, and persecuted people, that the value and the advantage of country and kind manners, are found in the highest perfection. Ireland was at the accession of George III. divided into two distinct classes, the dominant and domineering, and intolerant class, not exceeding 450,000 of all ages; the proscribed class of about four millions or more. This last class was divided into two by position, those who inhabited towns, perhaps one-fourth—the rest who lived upon a scanty agriculture, who spoke no language but the Irish, and who rarely saw a town, unless when agricultural productions sent them to market, or when compelled by law to assert their claims to jus-

tice, or to vindicate themselves against persecution, and save the remnants of estates, which proscription had yet suffered to escape.

The project of an union upon the same plan as the union with Scotland, had been in contemplation in the reign of George I. but given up in consequence of the state of affairs on the continent of Europe, and the paramount interests of Hanover. But when the prince, who boasted of being born an Englishman, came to the throne, the plan of Irish union was renewed. The preparations for the event in George the First's time, was an alarm of Popery. The Popish chapels were shut up, and several thousand families were driven to migrate to France, Spain, Germany and America, it is to one of those migrations the writer of this article owes the accident of being, what was in his infancy called "*an Indian-born*."

During the viceroyalty of the Earl of Halifax, there was some softening of the asperity of domination; but it was transitory;—under the viceroyalty of Lord Townshend, the project of union was renewed, and excited a strong commotion, extending to all classes.

On this occasion, religion so often employed to mask the most atrocious designs, and palliate the worst excesses of cruelty, was called in to aid in the project of binding Ireland, like Scotland, to the footstool of English *liberality*! It must be kept in mind, that this refers to our own times, under the reign of the same monarch, who sought to bind this great continent to the same footstool. The history is so abounding in what is characteristic of English misrule, that it is difficult to travel through the mazes of oppression, which meet the observer at every step; we shall cite an English writer, the great agriculturist, Arthur Young, to exhibit the case of Ireland, in the early reign of George III.

"The landlord of an Irish estate, inhabited by Roman Catholics," says Arthur Young, "is a sort of despot, who, in whatever concerns the poor, yields no obedience to the laws but his will. To discover what the liberty of a people is, we must live among them, and not look for it in the statutes of the realm; the language of written law may be that of liberty, but the situation of the poor may speak no language but that of slavery; there is too much of contradiction in Ireland. A long series of oppressions aided by very many ill-judged laws, have brought landlords into a habit of exerting a very lofty superiority, and their vassals into that of an almost unlimited submission—speaking a language that is despised by the rulers—professing a religion that is abhorred, by the possessors of the forfeited estates; being *disarmed*, and the last refinement of insolent power, made the standing butt of a malicious ridicule, they find themselves slaves, even in the bosom of liberty. Then, what is liberty, but a farce or a jest, if it is only an act of humanity, instead of being an inheritance of right?"—*Young's Tour*.

In England, there are written remembrances of numerous tracts of land, on what is called *common*, upon which the villagers grazed their cattle, without rent. Inclosures of such lands produced many commotions in England, which the historians of the day have not deemed of sufficient moment to record. It was a politic fashion in Ireland to imitate England in all things—so the landlords set about making enclosures of commonage land there; not quite so scrupulous as to law or bounds, as in the imitated country. This system of *enclosures* gave rise to commotions as it had done in England; it was confined to no one province, nor to any religious sect; the first risings were in the province of Ulster, in which the greatest numbers were of the reformed churches; they assumed the titles of *Hearts of Steel*, *Peep of Day Boys*, &c. Some of the emigrants from Ireland, on account of those risings, are living at this day in many parts of Pennsylvania—nay, in Philadelphia. But the risings against enclosures extended to Munster, the largest and most populous province, where the Catholics are by much

the most numerous. Their first exploits were levelling by night, the walls of enclosures erected the preceding day; hence, they were called *Levellers*. Soon after, they extended their *surveillance* beyond levelling, and undertook to redress other grievances, the *tythe* proctors, the land agents, known as the class of *middle men*—like all seditions, it exceeded the first intentions.

But these doings were contemporaneous with the renewed project of the union, and the unpopularity of that scheme with all parties, rendered it expedient to resort to a diversion, which should promote the object, and disarm at least the most numerous portion of the population.

Then it was, that was set up the cry of popery—and to it was superadded French invasion. The alarm was not at first successful, and new means must be resorted to, to sustain the domination and subserve the policy of England. The actors having in view the good things which power had to bestow.

The province most popish was of course that which required to be first kept in awe; and we shall select a case, than which there is not to be found in any history, ancient or modern, on example more execrable or cruel. It is part of the history of men still living—of the *present race of Englishmen*—whom the Chronicle would canonize for their mildness of government; it is a history of which the writer had opportunities of being acquainted with, and of witnessing personally some of the incidents which work into the picture.

No joke is more common with Englishmen, and their imitators, than—"that the Irish think nothing of hanging, they are so used to it." The joke, though a serious one, is significant; it does not require as much interest to be hanged in Ireland as in Pennsylvania—but the worst of the joke as to the Irish is, that they have no choice in the affair;—that belongs as a prerogative to their English betters, the Protestant ascendancy, as the case to be narrated will more clearly exemplify. Many of those *Levellers*, *White Boys*, *Peep of Day Boys*, &c. were hanged according to law—five were executed at Waterford, in 1762.

But a striking example was necessary to be made, and a suitable selection. The cry was set up that there were French emissaries in the country enlisting troops, and administering oaths, and that the papists were in the plot. There was at Clogheen, in the country of Tipperary, a parish priest, of very popular habits and manners—gay, jocular, familiar, and convivial. After divine service on Sundays, according to the usages of that country, he attended at their hurlings, dancing, and other innocent pastimes; he did not hesitate to dance a jig, or to play a tune on the violin, in the absence of the piper, and enjoyed his fiddling the more, as he contributed to the happiness of his innocent and almost adoring parishioners. He kept order in the surrounding country, better than any justice of the peace—and as an arbitrator, very much reduced the suits at the assizes. No man could be more beloved than he was, by a parish of more than nine thousand souls.

This man's name was Nicholas Sheehy, and he was selected as the example of the strict resemblance which the present race of Englishmen (as the Chronicle has it,) bear to their ancestors. In 1765, the Irish government was stimulated, by the leading courtiers of the country of Tipperary, to issue a proclamation offering a reward of £300, for the apprehension of this Nicholas Sheehy, accused of *high treason*. The gay priest was at a wedding, never suspecting himself of treason, when the news was communicated to him, in the midst of the most melancholy wailings. His first step was to address a letter to Mr. Waite, Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant, signifying that government should not expend its money unnecessarily, as he should present himself at Dublin, and be ready to stand trial, for any charge which might be brought against him; stipulating, however, that he should not be tried at Clonmel, the shire-town of the county in which he lived.

He accordingly proceeded to Dublin, and there he was arraigned and tried. The atrocious character of this persecution, was displayed on the trial. A vagrant boy, a Dublin prostitute, Mary Dunlay, and a Thomas Guinan, a horse-thief, brought out of prison, as an approver, had not been sufficiently drilled to tell one story. Nicholas Sheehy was acquitted.

But though the jovial priest was acquitted of high treason, in Dublin, he had yet to undergo a further trial; the gentry, who had accused him in the first instance, demanded that he should not be released, but transmitted to Clonmel, to answer upon a new charge, no less than the murder of a person named John Bridge. In short, the priest, and three others, Buxton, Farrell, and Meehan, were convicted of the murder of this John Bridge—they were all four hanged, quartered, and beheaded, and their heads stuck up on the south gable of the Clonmel gaol.

The witnesses brought forward on this occasion, were those who had sworn to the treason in Dublin, and now swore to the murder? The other incidents of this example of English justice, in Ireland, would occupy too much space; the whole history, up to the death of those victims of English moderation in Ireland, is told by *Amyas Griffith*, a Protestant gentleman, a surveyor of excise in the province of Munster, of course an officer of government, and a member of the dominant church, in a letter to Daniel Toler, the elder brother of the notorious (John Toler) Lord Norbury; both of whom were of the concerned in this legal massacre.

But the part of this strange history, which is to follow, belongs to the knowledge of the writer of this article. When in his fourteenth year he was carried to Ireland; he resided some time with his maternal relations, and was placed at school in this same town of Clonmel. His path to and from school, was by this prison; and those grim heads became soon familiar to him. Passing one day, in the fall of 1775, he observed a crowd, and among them several young people of his acquaintance, of whom he inquired the cause of the crowd, and was informed that a robust, chubby, coarse, well clad man, who was the object of discourse, was that very John Bridge, for whose murder, the men whose heads were in view, had been hanged, quartered, and beheaded! Incredulous to this information, the writer addressed the man himself—and being at this time pretty well acquainted with the names and characters of the gentry, put some questions to him concerning Thomas Berd, his former master, and several others, all of whom he knew, and answered concerning. He was asked where he had been, that he did not come to the rescue of those innocent men; he said he had been in Newfoundland, and that he had been shipped thither, against his will, at the instance of the Tolers, John Bagwell, and Sir Thomas Maude.

This Bridge was a foundling, named after the bridge where he had been left. He had been brought up by Thomas Berd, a protestant gentleman, of dissolute habits. The prime movers in this demonstration of the disposition of the present race of Englishmen, were Sir Thomas Maude, who was by his most gracious majesty, George III., king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and Defender of the Faith, created Lord Montalt; another was Daniel Toler, a man of large estate—and his brother, distinguished under the name of Lord Norbury, whose character the dying Emmet so faithfully ensanguined.

As a finish to this almost incredible history, we must state that no more was to be heard of Bridge, after his visit of curiosity to see the heads of those who had been hanged for murdering him: but turning over the leaves of a volume of a Dublin Magazine, a few years ago among the deaths was given the following:—

"St. Johns, Newfoundland.—Died on Friday, John Bridge, man years sexton of the Protestant Church of this settlement. This poor man was the innocent cause of the death of several worthy men in Ireland,

"who were accused of murdering him, and executed in 1766, at Clonmel, in Ireland.

MOST EXTRAORDINARY!

We have not discovered, in the federal papers which we have seen during the last week—one deliberate lie!

An incident so very remarkable should be noted, because there must be some design even in their relinquishment, however temporary, of a practice which appeared to be as necessary to them as food.

ANOTHER EXTRAORDINARY FACT!

The Bank, like *Vesuvius*, has suspended its eruptions, it does not even smoke; the delegation of *Naturalists* who were appointed to visit the crater, appear to have left town in a panic, and all by different routes! and have been ever since running away from themselves.

COTTON.

FOR THE AURORA.

MR. DUANE,

I have read your articles on cotton with pleasure:—there are contradictions among the practical men in India and elsewhere on cotton. A gentleman, of the name of Crawford, says nothing is requisite but colonization to bring cotton to the highest perfection in India: the same gentleman, in an examination before a committee of the House of Commons, says, in answer to a question,—“The cotton of Dacca, of which the finest of all muslins are made, grows within twenty miles of the sea; therefore, it must be the long-stapled fine cotton.” Yet it is certain that there is a short-stapled cotton cultivated in the same neighbourhood.

There are some species of cotton which thrive only in very rich soils, and a very warm climate; others, such as the shrubby species, which thrive but in a dry sandy clay, exposed to the air. Of the shrubby species there are numerous varieties, both in quality and location.

The creeper cotton, often of a very fine quality, prefers a red-dish soil, and the sea-shore, of which some fine specimens are found at Delgoa Bay, and at Soffola, on the African coast. I have seen this creeper at the Hinzuan Islands and in Madagascar.

Germantown, Aug. 20.

VIATOR.

ADDRESS

Of the Republican Members of Congress, from the State of New York, to their Constituents.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

Fellow-Citizens—It has been customary for your representatives in the state legislature, to lay before you, on the eve of their separation, their general views on the more important topics which have engaged their attention, with the reasons by which their own course in respect to them has been governed, and with such suggestions in relation to the circumstances of the times and the duties they may demand, as the exigencies of the case may require.

The undersigned, not less accountable to you for their conduct, and they hope not less willing to render that account, feel it to be their duty to make the like exposition as to some of the prominent events of the late session of Congress. They enter upon this task with a deep sense of their individual obligations to their constituents, and with a full reliance on the intelligence, patriotism, and justice, of that great and generous people, whom they have the honor, in so large a degree, to represent in the councils of the Union.

In passing directly to the subjects of this address, we are confident we do but anticipate the suggestions of your own minds, when we say that the question of the renewal of the Bank of the United States, either directly by a recharter, or indirectly by the creation of a similar institution, is first in importance. That it is so regarded by the people, is fully evinced by the powerful movements of the public mind which, for the last eight months, have attended its discussion in every portion of the country.

The occasions upon which public feeling of this earnest and excited character, has been elicited in the United States, have been comparatively few; but, in all, a great similarity of cause and consequences has been uniformly manifested. In every such crisis there has been found a degree of firmness proportioned to the pressure; a capacity and a determination to resist and overcome every difficulty; and a keen-sighted and indignant patriotism which stamps the unworthy with lasting reprobation. The unerring justice, the stern inflexibility, and the invariable success, which have marked the course of the American people upon all such occasions, have justly given them a distinguished name among the nations of the earth, and may properly dispel from our

own minds every serious apprehension as to the issue of the conflict in which we are now engaged.

The attempt to enslave this people, in the war of the revolution, was undisguised. The disparity between the means used to accomplish this purpose, and those employed to prevent it, would have carried dismay and despair into the bosoms of any other men; but the active patriotism, the indomitable spirit of our ancestors, was more than equal to the emergency. By the favor of Providence, and their own heroic efforts, they achieved their independence; established their liberties upon a firm basis; and left to their posterity, not merely an inheritance of freedom, but an ample illustration of the proper means to extend and preserve it.

By the passage of the alien and sedition laws, with the congenial measures of the stamp tax, the direct tax, a standing army, and other concurring events, the great body of the American people became convinced of the existence of a design on the part of their public servants, to strip them of the rights acquired by the revolution, and to subvert the principles upon which they had formed their free government. True to their character, they arose in their might; hurled from their places the official agents by whom their confidence had been abused, and wrought out an entire revolution, not merely in the men who were to manage their affairs, but in the principles upon which the government was to be administered.

The late war between the United States and Great Britain, was the third great occasion when the American people displayed those traits of character, which, as we confidently hope, are to perpetuate the liberties of our country. Successful resistance to unjust aggression; a suitable chastisement of the aggressors; and stern displeasure towards those of themselves who proved recreant to their country in the hour of danger, became impressive duties of the American people—duties imposed by their high and patriotic character, by a proper regard to their own consistency, and by a necessity no less imperious than the preservation of their independence. Most honorably were those obligations discharged. With inadequate materials, under circumstances of great embarrassment, and in the face of internal disaffection, they prosecuted the war to a successful termination; disappointed every adverse calculation; sustained their firm and faithful public servants; and subjected to severe but merited obloquy, those who attempted to rise to power upon public distress and national defeat.

Equal in its present importance—equal in its future bearings upon your rights and liberties—to either of those great occasions, is the present crisis in our public affairs. The Bank of the United States and its political supporters, by the numerous and powerful means at their command—are now laboring with an industry, audacity, and recklessness hitherto unequalled, to effect the double purpose of forcing from Congress a renewal of its charter against the known wishes of a great majority of the people; and of bringing to a disastrous termination the public life of one of our most tried and disinterested patriots.

In thus passing over for the present, the much debated questions growing out of, or connected with, the removal of the public monies from the present national bank, and in carrying you at once to the question, greater than those, which is now at issue before the American people, we are entirely confident, as we have before remarked, that we do but respond to the suggestions of your minds. The subject has been too long before you, and too fully investigated, not to have satisfied you, before this, that the minor questions just alluded to, are nothing but disguises used to conceal the real design—devices to lead the public mind upon a false scent—while the great work of subverting the government of the people, and substituting in its stead the government of the bank, is in constant and active progress.

That the real nature of the great issue which is now presented, and upon which you are soon to pass, is what we have stated it to be, is proved and felt in every thing around us, and about us. Think you, fellow-citizens, if the sole object had been to enlighten your understandings upon a point of public policy, however important, or to convince you of the abuse of a public trust, however flagrant, that you would have witnessed the scenes which have recently passed before you? Diversities of sentiment, on important questions of public policy, are of frequent occurrence, and pass to their results without any injurious excitement of the public mind. It is only when the field of argument and persuasion is abandoned for that of coercion, and when the stubborn will of a free people is to be broken and subdued, that means are resorted to, which unloose the ligaments of society, and shake the foundations of our political establishments.

Such was emphatically the case in the ever-memorable struggle of 1800; and we invite your attention to the analogies between that gloomy period, so justly stigmatized as the “reign of terror,” and the present day. Then, as now, the principle which lies at the foundation of our republican system—*submission to the will of the people*—was attempted to be subverted. Then, as now, the means by which that object was sought to be accom-

plished, were those of unjust dictation and lawless violence.—Who, that still bears in recollection the intolerance of that day, an intolerance which found its gratification in playing the Rogue's March, at Philadelphia, under the window of him who drafted the Declaration of Independence, and which exhibited its malignant spirit on numerous occasions in acts still more repugnant to the rights of citizens and the decencies of life; who, we ask, that calls to mind the history of that day, but must find its parallel, and more than parallel, in the scenes which have been so recently exhibited in many of our large towns, and under the effects of which the country is yet suffering? The labored preparations which preceded the New York charter election; the proscription of working men and others by their employers; the shutting up of the shops for three days, that the mass of population employed in and about them might be turned into the streets or left at entire leisure during the election; the criminal violence which attended the election, and the attempt which had well nigh proved successful, to introduce into the contest the implements of war; the Sunday scene at Baltimore; the attempts to organize an armed force, and to influence Congress and its deliberations by rumors of the hostile approach of the recruits of the Bank in that city; together with innumerable other acts of violence and desperation, force upon us the conviction that the conduct and feelings of that day and the present, spring from the same motives; and even were there not other and abundant reasons for the conclusion, would satisfy every unprejudiced mind, that the assailants of the popular will are the same, and that the issue now to be decided, has the same bearing, and tends to the same result. That issue, in a word, is, **SHALL THE PEOPLE RULE, OR BE RULED?** Will they continue to exercise their accustomed supremacy in the administration of their own affairs, and their accustomed guardianship over the constitution itself, or will they sell both for gold? Will they hand down their blood-bought privileges to their posterity, or will they ingloriously surrender them to the most ignoble of all tyrannies—the tyranny of money?

The men of '98, not only successfully resisted the assaults then made upon their right of self-government, but they vindicated that inestimable privilege, and placed it upon deeper and more durable foundations. You, fellow-citizens, and your compatriots of the other states, may now do the same. If you act wisely; if you act with your accustomed patriotism and spirit, you will, in due time, by the peaceful efficacy of the ballot and the polls, purge the public councils of those who have acted in, or encouraged, the scenes to which we have referred; and you will place upon their conduct a condemnatory sentence, which will render "The Reign of Terror," and "The Reign of the Bank," equally notorious, and equally to be shunned.

The superiority of our political system, is every where admitted by the enlightened friends of civil liberty; and in nothing is it more conspicuous, than in the beneficial influence which our institutions exert upon the character of the people. Whatever may be the accidental differences of condition which good or bad fortune has occasioned, the cheerful consciousness that no such differences exist by law, and none from any other cause, which industry and good conduct may not remove, is a perennial fountain of sound principles and healthful action. The perfect equality of natural and political rights, not the equality of the club and the stiletto, but the equality of a constitution and of laws—the knowledge that he himself forms a part of the government of his country, and is one of that grand inquest by which all its public functionaries are to be tried—the knowledge of that, if his influence be, for the moment, obscured by the better fortunes of others, it is but the result of accidental or temporary causes, and does not arise from any political regulation—the knowledge that the road to wealth, to honor, and to official station, is as open to him, as to the proudest of his countrymen. These ennobling reflections stimulate the American freeman to the greatest efforts to qualify himself for all the duties of a good citizen; bind him to the government of his choice, and lead him, however humble his personal condition, to sympathize with that government, and to feel an insult offered to his country, as a personal indignity to himself, which should fire his soul and nerve his arm in her defence.

Preserve the state of things, fellow-citizens, and public liberty is safe. But allow a change; suffer a privileged order of any description to spring up among you, either legally or surreptitiously; permit the right of suffrage to be invaded; and the will of the many to be subjected to the control of the few, and it will not be long before you will witness the baneful effects upon the capacities and hearts, the feelings and conduct of the people. The humiliating consciousness, that, from being all freemen, many of them have become menials—the mere appendages and instruments of avarice or ambition—will unfit them for the intelligent and virtuous exercise of their political rights, and will beget among them, first, indifference, and then hostility, to our glorious institutions; and the only sure foundations upon which these institutions rest,—the interest, intelligence, and affection of the great mass of the people,—will be for ever destroyed. To resist

therefore by all the means in his power, every act which tends to impair this invaluable equality in our political condition, is the highest duty of every American citizen.

In almost every other country, the right of commanding the personal services and swaying the minds of the great mass of their fellow-creatures, to advance the interests, and pamper the pride of their superiors, is secured to the few, by fundamental laws, or the power to do so, is upheld by brute force. The entire overthrow of this odious principle, here, was one of the great objects of the American revolution. To guard against its return, entails were broken down; the right of primogeniture was abolished; and, indeed, every thing which law could do, was faithfully exerted to exterminate the germ of aristocracy in this republic. The axe was aimed at the root of the evil; but the evil was not destroyed, because it was planted too deep in the human heart to be extirpated by human laws.

There has been no period in our history, from the revolution to the present day, in which the Spirit of Aristocracy has not been struggling to regain the mastery. Our large towns are the strong holds of this inextinguishable spirit. Incessant efforts to keep down what it denominates "the vulgar democracy," and to divide society into other classes than such as are founded upon intelligence and virtue, are its invariable fruits. You may trace its existence and uniform character in the entire career of a great political party, which once governed this country, and which has ever since been carrying on a constant struggle, under all sorts of names and devices, to regain its lost ascendancy. You may have seen it in the settled distrust manifested by this party towards the people; in its uniform preference for those powers of the federal and state governments, which are farthest removed from the popular control; and, above all, in its ardent and unwavering desire to fasten upon our political system a great monied power, hostile in its very nature to free principles, and far beyond the reach of the popular will.

No, fellow-citizens, no: you deceive yourselves, you fatally deceive yourselves, if for a moment, you doubt the existence, in the bosom of your country, of an aristocratic spirit as desirous for the establishment of privileged orders among you, as incessant in its efforts to accomplish this object, and as unscrupulous in the means to which it will resort, as any similar spirit to be found elsewhere—a spirit which regards every conquest from the people as an advance towards happiness and security, and which will never be at rest so long as there is reason to hope that it may succeed in its endeavors. To prevent such a result, we say again, fellow-citizens, it is a duty of the most sacred character, a duty you owe not only to yourselves and your posterity, but to the cause, the oppressed and persecuted cause, of free government throughout the world.

We have no cause to fear the assumption of despotic power by one man, or any number of men, nor have we now any reason to apprehend the establishment of a limited monarchy, or an hereditary aristocracy. The American people are yet too virtuous, and in their sentiments too radically republican, to afford the least encouragement for either attempt. Besides—the day for the original institution of hereditary orders has gone by—and if those now in existence can be sustained, it is all that can be expected by their supporters, and more than will probably be realized.—But although the existence of the evil in that form is not to be feared, we are by no means safe against its practical consequences. The same enemy, though in disguise, is in the field. A plain man, whose judgment of men and things is of the very highest order, and whose patriotism is not less practical than it is believed to be sincere, has said that "*associated with wealth is the dynasty of modern states*," and with us, he might have added, a National Bank, and its branches established in every quarter of the Union, are the palaces and strong holds in which that dynasty is seated and entrenched.

It is only by the aid of "associated wealth," that the spirit of aristocracy can maintain its ground, in a government like ours, in opposition to the feelings and wishes of the great body of the people. The baleful influence of this power is, therefore, especially to be dreaded; and in no form so much, as that in which it assumes in a Bank of the United States. The supremacy of the present institution over the state banks, has been vauntingly affirmed to a Committee of Congress by its chief officer; and experience has shown in too many cases, the general accuracy of the assertion. In the present struggle between the government of the people, and the government of the Bank of the United States, many of the state banks have rallied under the banner of the great monied power, and have espoused its interest. The exceptions, however, are sufficiently numerous, and especially in our own state, to vindicate the policy of such institutions, and to place them in many cases, in close affinity with the great body of the people. Indeed, although the whole banking system is liable to abuse, and is only defensible in communities like ours, when actually required by the exigencies of trade, and carefully restrained by effective regulations and vigilant control; yet it

is morally impossible that the state banks can ever exercise any very dangerous influence over the politics or the business of a territory so extended, and a population so numerous, as those of the United States. Their number would, indeed, make them formidable, could they all be combined in a common effort; but for a thousand reasons such a combination is utterly impossible. In a national point of view, it is therefore, only by means of a Bank of the United States, that "associated wealth" can, in this country, acquire any great political influence; because there is no other organization by which its power can be extended to every section of the Union, and brought to bear by concerted action, on all the interests of society.

A national bank is, therefore, emphatically, the great lever of the American Aristocracy; and in the language of our venerable President, is a part, and a most prominent part, or a system devised to make "the rich richer, and the potent more powerful." It does this in a thousand ways. In addition to its great increase, through artificial means, of the actual revenue of the wealthy capitalists, it adds to their power over the laboring men, by giving them an almost absolute control over the currency in which he is to receive the wages of his labor, and with which he is to procure the necessities of life. It gives them a most dangerous control over all classes of community, by enabling them to occasion commercial embarrassment, whenever and wheresoever their interests, their caprice, or their malice may direct. It enables them by their control over the price of stocks, and the value of property in general, to make for themselves, and their favorites, vast fortunes by speculations upon the fluctuations of the market. In this way, a species of gambling is encouraged and sustained, at the expense of the far greater, but uninitiated portion of the community, thereby increasing and aggravating the disparities of condition which already exist among the people; and multiplying the instances of poverty and want on the one hand, and of bloated wealth on the other—wealth too which makes its possessors more arrogant and oppressive than that amassed in any other way, because not acquired by any of those useful callings which appeal to the favor, and to some extent, depend on, the patronage of the people. The injurious effects of such a state of things upon the morals and happiness of society, are too glaring and pernicious, to require to be exposed.

That the existence of a great national bank in any form, as a private corporation, involves these and many other dangerous tendencies and results; and that the powers possessed by the present bank, are such, as in the language of one of our greatest statesmen, "ought not to be delegated to any body of men under the sun," has been fully proved by the disgraceful events of the last six months."

The solemn conviction that such was the nature, and that such would be the consequences, of such an establishment, induced the old republicans of 1787, in the convention which formed the constitution of the United States, to resist to the utmost, and after three days of deliberate debate, to reject a proposition intended to clothe the Federal Government with the power to charter such an institution. It was the same conviction with the super-added objection of the want of conditional power, which induced THOMAS JEFFERSON, as a member of Washington's cabinet, to resist, with equal zeal, the incorporation of the first bank, in 1791, and which led this great apostle of republicanism, years afterwards, when the light of experience had confirmed the almost prophetic suggestions of his own mind, to say of the institution,

"This institution is one of the most deadly hostility existing, against the principles and form of our constitution. The nation is at this time so strong and united in its sentiments, that it cannot be shaken at this moment; but suppose a series of untoward events to occur, sufficient to bring into doubt the competency of a republican government to meet a crisis of great danger, or to unhinge the confidence of the people in the public functionaries; an institution like this, penetrating by its branches every part of the Union, acting by command and in phalanx, may, in a critical moment, upset the government. I deem no government safe which is under the vassalage of any self-constituted authorities, or any other authority than that of the nation, or its functionaries. What an obstruction might not this Bank of the United States, with all its branches, be, in time of war? It might dictate to us the peace we should accept, or withdraw its aid. Ought we then to give further growth to an institution so powerful—so hostile? That it is so hostile, we know—first, from a knowledge of the principles of the persons composing the body of directors in every bank, principal or branch, and those of most of the stockholders; secondly, from their opposition to the measures and principles of the government, and to the election of those friendly to them; and, thirdly, from the sentiments of the newspapers they support. Now, while we are strong, it is the greatest duty we owe to the safety of our constitution, to bring this powerful enemy to a perfect subordination to its authorities. The first measure would be to reduce them to an equal footing with other banks as to the favors of the government."

Similar sentiments influenced the veteran republican, GEORGE CLINTON, to give his casting vote against the continuance of the charter of the first bank; an act, which more than any other of his public life, has consecrated his memory in the hearts of all genuine disciples of the republican school.

It is matter of history that the question of Bank or no Bank of the United States, lies at the foundation of the first division of parties in this country; and that all the great points of controversy in regard to our domestic policy, which have since been agitated between those parties, are, mediately, or immediately, referable to the principles then avowed by Jefferson on the one side, and Hamilton on the other, those distinguished statesmen being at that period the respective leaders of the two great parties.—Whenever, then, the question of a national bank arises, it must, as it has heretofore done, rally for and against it, the great body of these parties.—It must do this.—Because it is emphatically a question between the Democracy and the Aristocracy of the country. Accordingly we find that the attempts in 1811, to revive and continue the first bank, agitated the country more deeply than any public question which had preceded it after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. A combination of circumstances, peculiar in their character, and not at all likely again to occur, contributed to the establishment of the present Bank, with comparatively little agitation of the public mind:—but for the indifference which then existed, the nation is now doomed to make serious amends. While all must deplore the public and private mischiefs to which the country has been exposed, they are, fortunately, not without their use. They serve, in an eminent degree, to awake the reflections of the people; to force upon the attention the fundamental principles of the old republican school; and to keep fresh in public recollection and respect, the doctrines, precepts, and measures, of the great exemplar of that school—Thomas Jefferson.

Early and deeply imbued with those principles, and accustomed to carry out his views of public duty without regard to personal consequences, General Jackson, at the commencement of his administration, called the attention of Congress and of the nation to the recharter of the present Bank. At a subsequent period, with that moral courage, which so much distinguished his character, he not only placed his success or defeat, at the most critical period of his long public life, upon the issue tendered to him by the friends of the Bank, but he has since fearlessly thrown the final result of his brilliant political career into the same scale. Through proscription and intolerance, personal and political—under assaults more powerful and vindictive than any heretofore known in any party conflict—he has finally succeeded in bringing the great question of BANK OR NO BANK, in such a shape before the free people of the United States, as to place it completely in their power to put down, now and for ever, not only the present Bank, but any similar institution. If the people are only true to themselves, we cannot doubt that the business of the treasury can be conveniently and safely managed, by the agency of the state banks. The restoration of gold coins to the specie circulation of the country, which may soon be expected to follow the act recently passed, will not only strengthen those institutions, but operate as a valuable limitation to their issues; and if proper caution is only exercised by the state governments in the incorporation and management of banks, and gradual but timely measures are taken for the abolition of small notes, we may confidently anticipate, at no distant day, a safer and more useful currency than has ever yet been enjoyed by the people of this country. The evil tendency of the paper system will not only be checked by this reform, but the earnest wish of our venerable chief magistrate, to secure to the laboring man the fruits of his industry, in a medium of certain value, and to confine banking institutions to their original and legitimate purpose—the necessities of trade—will thus be carried into practical effect.

We are now prepared to call your attention to the particular question connected with *The removal of the public monies from the Bank of the United States to the State Banks.*

We regard this procedure as a preliminary measure, authorised by law, and indispensably necessary to render successful the change about to take place in the fiscal agency of the government. It would have passed without observation, had not the bank designed to force from Congress, a renewal of its charter, and had not this design concurred with the anxiety of certain leading politicians, to attempt the overthrow of the present administration. This measure was therefore selected as the principal point of attack.

The motive by which the opposition were induced to pass by the question of a recharter of the Bank, and to make their first assault upon the change of the deposits, is very obvious, and does credit to the sagacity, however it may impugn the fairness of their leaders. In the steps taken by the President to compel the bank to confine itself within the limits of its charter, and to prepare for a final close of its affairs, he was but acting as the agent of the people, and carrying into effect their well understood and most solemnly expressed will. From this strong posi-

tion it was desirable to dislodge him; and this was to be done by throwing the question of recharter temporarily into the background; by stigmatizing the removal of the deposits, as the offspring of personal resentments, as an encroachment upon the rightful powers of other functionaries, and as evincive of designs against the liberties of the people; by exciting in the commercial cities, and among all classes of business men, the greatest possible degree of distrust, apprehension, and alarm; and by bringing upon the country all the disastrous consequences such a state of things is calculated to produce.

The removal of the deposits was therefore made, by common consent, the rallying point of all the various interests and factions opposed to the administration. Every thing that an immense monied power, aided by political leaders of great talents and extensive experience, could accomplish, has been done to misrepresent this act of the President, and to bring upon him, for it, the hatred of the people. The two houses of congress have been made, in an especial manner, the theatre of the war; and a coalition of individual leaders, which, for the discordancy of their views, and the bitterness of their hostility, throws into the shade all former political combinations, has marshalled the forces of the opposition.—Differing upon almost every point, save that of an untiring hostility to the President, these highly gifted individuals and their followers, have, for the last seven months, carried on this war with the administration, with a fierceness and desperation, which stand, as it is hoped for the honor of the country, they will forever stand, without a parallel in its history.

No reflecting mind acquainted with the substantial prosperity of the United States, at the commencement of these political incantations, and entertaining a just sense of the virtue and intelligence of our population, could have believed for a moment, that effects, such as those we have witnessed, were to be thus produced. Still the facts are before us; and it must now be admitted, that those who are incredulous, entertained but very imperfect conceptions of the power of political agitation, when acting in concert with, and stimulated by a gigantic monied institution. The history of the late panic will, in all future time, bring a blush upon the cheek of every well disposed and patriotic citizen.

But before we call your attention to the evils which these agitations have produced, we must detain you by a *review of the principal objections to the act of the Executive Department.*

The removal of Mr. Duane from the office of Secretary of the Treasury, and the change of the deposits by his successor, are denounced as not authorized by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both. It is not our intention, to inflict upon you a repetition of arguments and debates, upon points which have been, within the last session of congress, literally debated to death. It would be unnecessary, if it were endurable. The fever of the public mind has abated. The mists raised by passion, prejudice and selfishness, are fast dissipating; and the sober second thought of our countrymen, which never errs, is at work. Under such circumstances, the mere statement of the points, with the prominent facts and considerations belonging to them, is alone necessary to the cause of truth.

In regard to the constitutional power of the President to remove Mr. Duane, we will only say,

1st. That the right of the President to remove a secretary of the treasury and all similar officers, when he thinks the public interest requires it, was solemnly settled by a congressional exposition of the constitution, at the first session of congress after its adoption, and that this construction has been acted upon by every succeeding President, and has become by common consent, a part of our fundamental law.

2d. That the law passed by the first congress, by which the treasury department is organized, recognises, in terms, this power.

3d. That of the three principal leaders of the opposition, two of them, Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Webster, who rank among the ablest and most uncompromising of the opponents of the President, have expressly admitted the existence of the power.

If you will hold the President guilty of an assumption of unconstitutional authority for exercising a power which was claimed and exercised by all his predecessors, including the Father of his country, and in the exercise of which the whole nation has hitherto acquiesced; which is expressly recognised in the act of congress creating this particular office, and the constitutionality of which some of his bitterest opponents are, at this moment, compelled to admit; be it so. But before you do this, you will have forgotten the construction given to the constitution, in this respect, has for its exclusive object, to secure to the people, what can, in no other way, be secured. The power of impeachment, if it could be exercised, in such a case, would not and cannot reach a thousandth part of the abuses of public trusts. If the President, who is your servant, and immediately responsible to you, cannot remove unfaithful or incompetent public agents, appointed upon his own nomination, they cannot, to any useful extent, be reached or corrected at all. The senate cannot remove or check them; congress has no power over their removal; and

the people themselves, unless acting through the President, cannot remove them.—Establish these positions in our system of government, and our public offices will become, what, under kingly governments, for the most part, they are considered to be, private property, mere vested personal interests, for which the possessors, when once in quiet possession, will owe you neither thanks nor responsibility. Such a change in our system, we know very well, will not be sanctioned by the free citizens of this republic. Their good sense, as well as their patriotism, forbids the innovation.

Let us now briefly examine the question whether there was any violation of law in the change of the deposits? Before the establishment of the Bank of the United States, the public monies were deposited in such places as the secretary of the treasury thought proper to direct. This was done under the act of 1789, establishing and organizing the treasury department. That law is still in force, and regulates the conduct of the secretary of the treasury in all matters appertaining to the public monies, as fully as it did in 1816, when the Bank of the United States was chartered. By the 16th section of the charter of that institution it is provided "that the deposits of the money of the United States, in places in which the said bank and branches thereof may be established, shall be made in said bank or branch thereof, &c." Had the provision stopped here, the executive department, without some further exertion of the legislative power, could not have removed the public monies from the vaults of the bank; although the duty of watching over them, would, even in that case, have devolved on that department. Without a further law, however, the public treasure would have been left in the hands of the bank; and in the mean time, it would have been subject to all the dangers and casualties to which such an institution, even in the hands of the most faithful managers, is necessarily exposed; and to all the abuses which managers of different character might be tempted to commit. Those who chartered the bank, were too wise to place so important a matter on grounds so insecure.

They therefore secured to the government a power radically necessary to all governments—the control of its own funds—by reserving the power of withdrawing them from the bank. To make this control effectual, it was indispensable that this power of removing the public treasure should be absolute and unconditional. If conditions were affixed, the evil would remain. The conditions, whatever they might be, would be the subjects of the judgment, in the first instance at least, of the bank itself, and in case that judgment should differ from the judgment of the public agent, would present the humiliating and degrading spectacle of a controversy in regard to the safe keeping of its own funds, between the government of twelve millions of free people, and the fiscal agency of their own creation. It was, therefore, upon every principle, due to the honor and to the interests of the people, that the right to change or withdraw the public moneys from the Bank of the United States, should depend upon the discretion of some functionary of the government, and upon nothing else. So the law stands. The entire clause of the 16th section of the bank charter, from which we have before partially quoted, is in the following words:

"And be it further enacted, That the deposits of the money of the United States, in places in which the said bank and branches thereof may be established, shall be made in the said bank or branches thereof, unless the Secretary of the Treasury shall at any time otherwise order and direct."

Not that the Secretary might, under such and such circumstances, or in this or that condition of things make the order and direction, but "unless the Secretary of the Treasury shall, at any time, otherwise order and direct," without the slightest reference, in letter or spirit, to any circumstance or condition whatever. And how is the attempt made to get round this plain, palpable authority for the change of the deposits? By the groundless pretence that there are conditions implied, though not expressed in the act, and that although the law says, in so many words, that the Secretary may, "at any time" "order or direct" the deposits to be made otherwise than in the bank or its branches, still it means that he can only make that order in case the Bank shall become an insecure or unsafe depository.

Fellow-Citizens: You can all read and understand plain language. Look then at the provision above quoted, and say if you do not look in vain for any such limitation whatever—upon the power of the Secretary?

But there is one view of this point, which should close the lips of the most clamorous. The Bank has shown no disposition to comply with the executive department, in any instance, where it has not been most clearly obliged to do so. During the late session, it placed itself on more than one occasion in an attitude of defiance, not merely to the executive, but even to the legislative department. It has counted largely upon the support of its friends in and out of congress, and as yet, it has experienced no disappointment. Under all these circumstances, is it possible to believe that this arrogant institution would have obeyed the order for the removal of the deposits, if, as is pretended, that order had

been unauthorized, and had involved, as is now alleged, a palpable violation of its charter! No, fellow-citizens, you will not believe this. You know better; and those who make so frequent and vehement declarations to the contrary, ought to know better. They are either blinded by their interest or their passions, or they designedly attempt to palm upon you the most unfounded pretensions.

There was, then, nothing unconstitutional in the removal of Mr. Duane, and nothing illegal in the change of the deposits. In neither of these respects has there been any violation of the constitution or the law.

But those who, whilst they admit the constitutionality and legality of the acts of the President, are intent upon condemning the man, will yet affirm that there has been in these acts, a gross abuse of power. A few words in answer to this position.—The facts in Mr. Duane's case are before you, and principally from his own pen. There is scarcely a reading man in the country who is not familiar with them. If after the revelations he has himself made of his principles, of his capacity, of his feelings towards the President and the measures of his administration, you think he ought to have been retained in office, say so. Call his removal an abuse of power, and condemn the Executive for it. So long, however, as we retain our present estimate of your sagacity and patriotism, we shall hold that conclusion to be impossible; and we will not, we dare not do that injustice to either, which we think would be involved in any further discussion of this point.

Upon the other branch of this subject, *the propriety of the removal of the deposits*, we have somewhat more to say. To judge correctly of this measure, the attention must be carried back to anterior events. The reason assigned by the Bank, at the session of congress of 1831—2, for so early an application for a renewal of its charter, was the necessity of a then speedy decision of that great question, to enable it successfully, and without injury to its customers or to the community, to wind up its business, in case that a decision should be against a re-charter. If the Bank had been sincere in this, all would have been well, and the country would have been saved from the evils it has since experienced. The contingency which constituted the reason for that early application happened. There was a constitutional decision against a renewal of the charter, and the necessity of directing the efforts of the institution to the final settlement of its affairs actually occurred. But, inasmuch as a majority was found in its favor in both houses of congress, the bank contended that the decision of the President placing his veto upon the bill, was at variance with the wishes of the people, and took an appeal to the ballot boxes to reverse that decision. It would have been difficult, even in a question of private litigation, to make an issue with more precision, than that framed by the supporters of the Bank, in and out of Congress, between it and the President. Upon the trial, the President was triumphant. He was re-elected by a majority greater than ever before marked a contested presidential election: and, although other considerations may have entered into the contest, no candid man can doubt, that the result would have been different, had a majority of the people really desired a continuance of the Bank. At the termination of the contest, when the principles upon which it had turned were fresh in the minds of all, it was universally regarded as a clear, unequivocal, and final condemnation of the Bank of the United States by the people of the United States; and the great inquiry was, will the Bank submit to the decision, or will it endeavour to defeat it by its immense monied power?

That the Bank had come to the fatal, not to say criminal, decision, not to submit either to the constitutionally expressed will of the government, or the people, but, in the plenitude of its power, to trample upon both, was made strongly probable before the meeting of Congress in December, 1832, and too palpably confirmed by the conduct of its supporters during the subsequent session, to admit the possibility of doubt. The high and delicate duties thrown upon the President in this emergency, were duly appreciated by him, and cannot, we trust, be misunderstood by you. He would have been found as he never has been found, recreant to his duty, if he had omitted to exercise all his rightful authority to sustain the government and the people, in a controversy which had now become national, and which involved, to the greatest extent, the character of the country and the liberties of the people. From a congress which had passed a bill to recharter the Bank, aid was not to be expected in resisting the designs of that institution, and the new Congress were not to meet for many months. The obligation of the President, in the interim, to do all in his power to counteract the operations, open or covert, of the Bank, was greatly increased by the fact, that between the months of Jan., 1831, and May, 1833, the institution had extended its accommodations to the enormous amount of more than twenty-eight millions of dollars, its whole debt at the first date being 42,392,234 dollars, and at the last 79,428,000 dollars.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to find an instance in the history of any commercial nation, of a proportionate exten-

sion of loans to private individuals and companies in the short space of one year. The interest openly manifested by the Bank in the then approaching presidential election, and the influence which so extended a credit was calculated to give to it, in that contest, doubtless constituted a part of the motive for this extraordinary proceeding. Still this was not at the time, regarded, by reflecting persons, as an adequate inducement to this course of policy; and subsequent developments have clearly shown, that the great motive lay much deeper. It is now quite manifest, that the grant of this unequalled subsidy to the customers of the Bank, had, for its ultimate object, to secure to that institution a hold upon the business and business men of the whole country, and to enable it to bring within its absolute control our entire system of domestic exchanges. From these influences, the following results were no doubt expected: 1st. That the people and the state banks would be brought so completely within the power of this single institution, by the time of the expiration of its charter, as to compel the former to favor its continuance, and effectually to deter the latter from undertaking the fiscal agency of the government in its stead: 2d. That the treasury department would be left dependent upon the Bank, for the performance of that agency, and thus many persons be compelled to assent to the continuance of the charter, who would still regard the measure as a great evil, and but for this imaginary necessity, would be zealously opposed to it: and 3d. That, as the expiration of the charter would take place in the very crisis of the next presidential canvass, the Bank might count upon the united influence of the pecuniary pressure it was thus enabled to produce, and the excitements and combinations inseparable from a presidential election.

The propriety of the removal of the public deposits, when considered in reference to its bearings upon this plan of operations, will be readily perceived.

The opinion very generally entertained as to the supposed necessity of the Bank as a fiscal agent of the government, could only be dissipated by actual experience. To render this demonstration of any value, it was necessary that it should be made before the question of recharter came on, and a sufficient time before that period, to inspire the people with confidence in its safety. The meditated coercion of the people and the state banks, could only be met by drawing this giant institution to the question, before its measures had become fully matured and its preparations completed; by making the necessary arrangements with a requisite number of the state banks before the power of the Bank of the United States was upon them; by putting them in a situation to meet that power when it should come; and by separating the period of public distress and pecuniary pressure, known to be relied upon as the great lever of the Bank, from the Presidential canvass, thereby depriving it of the succor it hoped to derive from that fruitful source of agitation. These great objects, the successful accomplishment of which was indispensably necessary to enable the President to carry out the decision of the people, could be accomplished, and in the opinion of the President, could alone be accomplished, by the removal of the deposits. Having just satisfied himself, from the report of the government directors, that his worst apprehensions as to the corrupt and corrupting operations of the Bank, and more especially in regard to the public press, were well-founded, he determined upon the removal of the public moneys from this institution; and the establishment of new fiscal agents for the government. The step was taken, and has been crowned with a degree of success equal to his most sanguine expectations.—The Bank has been brought into the field before its train of machinations against the supremacy of the popular will had been perfected—the selected state banks have been sustained—the practicability of conducting the business of the government without the aid of the Bank of the United States, has been made manifest. The main question of *Bank or no Bank* has been brought on by itself, and under such circumstances that the public mind may retain its accustomed composure, before the rendition of that verdict by which, as we firmly believe, the prostration of the Bank will be final and complete.

Judge ye, then, fellow-citizens, whether or not the President has acted wisely: but before you decide against him, remember that it was to carry into effect the will of the people of the United States, previously and clearly expressed, that this step was taken.

A few words as to the *motives* by which the President was actuated in this measure. That he could only have been prompted to this exercise of the powers entrusted to his department, by a solemn conviction of public duty, no candid man who duly weighs the attending circumstances, can for a moment doubt. The arduous labors of his first term of service, had been crowned with unprecedented success; and though his original opponents, in conjunction with the new enemies whom his personal integrity or his public policy had combined to prevent his re-election, the attempt had only served to illustrate with new force, the sovereignty and virtue of the people, and to overwhelm, with confusion and dismay, the factionists who made it. Simultaneously

with this contest, there had also been going on, in the state of South Carolina, a succession of proceedings, which threatened for a season, to bring upon the Executive the sternest of all duties—that of maintaining by the sword the supremacy of the constitution. How well and how wisely—with what patriotism, energy and success—the duties and dangers of that emergency, were met by Andrew Jackson, it is needless for us to say, for no American can forget it. The achievement was greater and more useful than ever the defence of New Orleans; for this was a bloodless triumph, and it saved, not merely a single city from rapine and slaughter, but a whole land from the curse of intestine strife, and the approach of that direst of all national calamities—a civil war. In the review of these services, he not only enjoyed the honest gratification which springs from the success of well meant efforts in the public cause; but the tribute of grateful veneration, tendered to him in person by thousands of our people, including many who had previously been ranked among his most violent opponents, had filled to overflowing the measure of his fame. Under these circumstances, by mere inaction in respect to the Bank of the United States, he could have secured for the residue of his present term, a greater degree of personal repose, and general approbation, than was ever enjoyed by any of his predecessors. On the other hand it was equally certain, and to no one more obvious than to himself, that by taking from the Bank the use of the public monies, the President would inevitably draw down upon his head, the maledictions of its numerous and powerful supporters; and that the remnant of his public life would be embittered by the most violent and painful collisions. Inferior minds would have shrunk from such an ordeal; but in the hour of trial, Andrew Jackson has never failed. With a clear anticipation of all the difficulties and labors he would be obliged to encounter, he chose the path which the intentions of the people, and his own conscience, had marked out; leaving the result to the favor of Providence, and the justice of his countrymen. And the question now recurs, whether the people of these states will permit a faithful chief magistrate—one whose whole life, from early youth to hoary age, has been consecrated to their service, and repeatedly periled in their defence—whose story is full of privations endured, and dangers encountered, and victories achieved—whose very name is identical with honor, integrity, and patriotism—to be hunted down by calumny and faction, simply because he has been true to the engagements implied in his election:—true to the decision of the people; and true, above all, to the voice of conscience and the calls of duty. For ourselves, we think not so meanly of the American people, as to suppose that such an issue to the present contest, is among the number of possible events.

The means by which the government of the Bank has endeavored to resist the effect of this measure, must now receive a brief notice at our hands.

A series of ruthless attacks upon the President and Secretary of the Treasury were immediately commenced by the presses in the Bank interest. These attacks have been ever since continued. The former was denounced as a tyrant and usurper, and as it was not then supposed that the Senate would anticipate the impeaching power, a formal impeachment by the House of Representatives was repeatedly threatened. As to Mr. Taney, it was promptly announced, and as the event has since shown, not without authority, that his nomination would be instantly rejected by the Senate. Arrangements were immediately made for curtailing the business of the Bank, in a manner and under circumstances which as narrated by the government directors, clearly indicate the spirit and design with which the reduction was undertaken. The object was to embarrass the local banks; to obstruct the operations of trade; to derange the currency; and to create a panic in the mercantile community; and by all these causes combined, to impair the value of property, and produce a general suspension of every kind of business; until the distresses of the people should compel them to sue for peace from the off-ended money power.

Simultaneously with this plan of operations, thus devised and commenced within the walls of the Bank, its presses proclaimed, far and wide, the most alarming predictions as to the future. But such was the real prosperity of the country, and so little confidence did even the commercial community repose in the dismal forebodings of the pensioned press, that little or no embarrassment was produced in any of the departments of business, and no essential diminution in the price of property, until the meeting of Congress. The removal of the deposits, thus far, had occasioned no distress; and it had received the general approbation of the people. The elections in our own state and in New Jersey, and several other indications of popular sentiment, which took place between the first of October and the 1st of December, may be referred to in proof of this assertion.

At a meeting of congress, new and more powerful auxiliaries were brought into the field. Each house contained several individuals eminently qualified, by their great talents, their former or present stations, their political connexions and presumed

knowledge of the power and designs of the bank, to influence the opinions and give direction to the conduct, not only of political partisans, but above all, of the aristocracy in general, and the commercial classes in particular. Within the first month of the session, so many prophecies of thick coming evils were uttered at the capitol, and reverberated through the land, that they soon began to be echoed back from those quarters of the Union in which the power of the Bank was most immediate and pressing. In the mean time the nominations of the government directors, although made at an early day in December, were held under advisement by the senate, and the offices of these faithful agents permitted to expire. The Bank was thus left at liberty to pursue its own course, without inspection or rebuke. And if we may judge of that course from the effects which were every where produced, it must have been alike reckless, persevering and corrupt. Concurring with the panic speeches in congress, and especially with those made in the senate, and with the designs of aspiring politicians, it produced throughout the Atlantic States, if we are to believe the thousandth part of the complaints which have since reached us, a degree of pecuniary embarrassment and of general distress, never before experienced in the history of our country. The whole of this embarrassment and distress—all that actually existed, and much that had no existence, except in disordered imaginations or sinister designs—was ascribed in the memorials which were subsequently gotten up, to the removal of the deposits, and to the hostile relation between the Government and the Bank. And more than 100,000 citizens of this free republic—we speak it with deep regret—were made to petition and instruct their representatives, to restore peace to these relations, by bowing the neck and bending the knee to an institution, created by the people—created, too, not to be their master, but their servant!

Fortunately, as we believe, for the best interests of our own country and of mankind a majority of the house of representatives were faithful to the sacred trust committed to their care. By a series of votes, at various periods during the session, they vindicated the conduct of the President and Secretary of the Treasury; and though the struggle was one of unprecedented violence, they sustained what we regard as the interest and honor of the nation. Instead of suing for peace in the humiliating tones of the distress memorials, they appointed a committee to investigate the affairs of the Bank; and especially to inquire into the cause of the pressure, and the agency of the Bank in producing it—an investigation not only authorized by the express terms of the charter, but rendered, at the present juncture, immensely important to the country. How that committee was treated by the officers of the Bank; with what contemptuous disregard of the charter and of the House; it is needless that we should mention. The inference that must be drawn as to the character of the discoveries which have been made, had the books been exhibited, and the directors submitted to examination, are also plain and palpable. Integrity and Truth require no disguises—no concealment—no subterfuges. On the contrary, they seek the light and court investigation. But we cannot dilate on this topic; and we feel that it is unnecessary. The common sense of mankind must instinctively seize on the conclusion, that nothing but the conviction that a full disclosure would confirm, and more than confirm, the suspicions of the public, could ever have induced the sagacious individuals who control the Bank of the United States, to refuse to congress an account of their proceedings. In this conclusion, fellow citizens, you will rest—on this conclusion you will act. And in deciding on the course you are to adopt, you will bear in mind, that this last act of the Bank furnishes a new and most alarming exhibition of the arrogance and recklessness of that aristocratic spirit, to which, at the commencement of this address, we invite your attention.

If our patriotic fathers had been told, at the formation of the constitution, that within half a century after its adoption, a monied power would exist among us, which, with mammoth-like proportions, would fill the land, and overshadow all its interests; would array itself against the Executive department and the popular branch of the national legislature; and would impudently violate the law of its existence, and still more impudently traduce and defy those, who represented the power which had given it that existence; think you they would have believed it? Or if they had believed it, think you they would have gone to their graves; with happiness and hope? It remains for you—for the present generation—by a prompt, decisive, and effectual expression—of the public will, to vindicate the honor of your ancestry, and to re-establish the sovereignty of your fundamental institutions.

In the other branch of the national legislature, very different results have been exhibited. We pass over the radical, and as we think injurious, change which has taken place in the character of its deliberations and debates; and though there are numerous points in its proceeding; which might furnish what we

regard as appropriate topics of remark, we cannot dwell upon details. We can only advert to the notorious fact, that the time and labor of this body, have been most exclusively devoted to the business of vindicating the Bank, and vituperating the President; to its double rejection of those faithful public agents, the government directors, and to that of the upright, enlightened, and patriotic TANEY; to an indulgence in clamor against the President for assuming the custody of the public monies, and keeping them in an insecure situation, without any legal regulation, while at the same time, they refuse their sanction to the bill from the house of representatives, providing for such regulation, and placing the public monies, with ample guards as to their security, in the hands of agents designated by and subject to the direct control of the representatives of the people; to the unprecedented resolution of the 28th of March, 1834, by which a majority of his constitutional triers, without an impeachment and without an opportunity for defence, declared the President guilty of an impeachable offence, and recorded this declaration in the Journals of that body; and last, though not least, to the refusal to place on their Journals, the defence of the officer and individual thus assailed,—as so many illustrations of the principles and designs of the opposition, and of the lengths to which those principles and designs will lead them, whenever they possess the power of proceeding to their natural results.

There is one other point connected with the subject of this address, on which we feel that it is our duty to speak before we bring it to a close.—We allude to the attacks which have been made, in this city and elsewhere, upon the charter, institutions, and interests of our state. At an early period in the contest, it became apparent that New York was regarded by the supporters of the Bank, with bitter and unrelenting hostility.—Their whole power was first brought to bear upon her monied institutions, in the hope that some of them would be compelled to suspend payment, and render the belief that, as they are generally subject to the safety fund system, and thus to some extent connected with each other, any failure which might be produced, would ultimately lead to the prostration of the system, or to a surrender at discretion to the Bank of the United States. This effort was seconded by most of the opposition presses, in other states, and strange to tell, by many of their coadjutors in our own state.—Unfortunately too, for this branch of our interests, the mass of the commercial community, in our large towns, appear to have gone as a body into this suicidal policy; and between their joint efforts, it is by no means surprising that general distrust and apprehension should have been excited. Our positions here gave as ample opportunities of discovering the plan of operations, and of witnessing the feelings which its development excited. Letters were written from Washington to editors in New York, declaring safety fund banks to be insolvent, and advising the holders of their notes not to rest till they were converted into specie. These declarations and this advice would come back to Washington, accompanied by tales of distress, and rumours of runs on monied institutions, failures of merchants, universal distrust, and impending bankruptcy, which were here loudly proclaimed on the floor of Congress, and with evident delight; and then again transmitted in new and still more aggravated forms to our cities and large towns, where new alarms would thus be excited by these coinages and inventions of the great political panic-makers. In defiance of all these malignant efforts, and without serious injury to any interest, except that of our merchants, the bank of the state of New York outrode the storm, and by their successful resistance of its fury, not only demonstrated their own solidity and soundness, but strengthened, in these respects, the government of their country—a service, however, which has only increased the hostility of their assailants.

But the assaults of the opposition have not been confined to our Banking institutions. The Legislative and the Executive of the state have come in for a share; especially, since by their wise and patriotic forecast, they have furnished means for protecting the agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing industry of our citizens, against the machinations and appliances of the Bank. It has been truly grateful to our feelings, not merely in reference to our own state, but to the general interests of the nation, to learn, from time to time, and from authentic sources, that those patriotic efforts have proved successful; and that the predictions and assertions by which our noble river was to be deprived of its commerce, our canals converted into a dreary solitude; our lakes abandoned as deserted wastes; and our cities and large towns emptied of their inhabitants or filled by starving crowds; have already been falsified by actual results, and that each day is exhibiting new proofs of the capacity and resources of New York.

There are one or two other facts connected with the assaults upon our state to which it is also proper to refer. The great preponderance, in point of numbers, of her delegation in the popular branch, and the fidelity and zeal with which a large ma-

jority of that delegation sustained the President and his leading measures, was another prominent motive of hostility to New York. In addition to this offence, she was also guilty of the still more heinous sin of numbering among her sons the second officer in the government, who was not only known fully to concur in the sentiments and policy of the President on these important subjects; but in respect to whom there existed other causes of irritation and hostility.—His very presence in the Senate, as its presiding officer, must be to many of the majority, a constant source of bitter reflection, if not of self-reproach; whilst the attitude in which he has been placed, not by New York alone, but by the spontaneous expressions of public sentiment in other quarters of the Union, is still more hateful and annoying. It is, therefore, to this cause, combined with the circumstances before enumerated, that we are to ascribe these reiterated attacks on the character of our state; on her political and other institutions; her legislative and other officers, and her most valued public men; on her foreign commerce, and her inland trade; on the intelligence and virtue of her population, who have been held up as the slaves of an irresponsible political cabal; and, in short, upon all her interests, political, social, and financial.

How far we have resisted these attacks, and in what manner we have defended the interests and honor of our State, has been sufficiently made known to you by the public journals, and by other means of information. On many occasions we have deemed it best to pass over in silence the efforts of ignorance, prejudice, and calumny, and to give no other reply than was to be found in the general tenor of our conduct, which we trust has been calculated to show—what we know are the feelings of our constituents—that New York desires nothing from her sister states but a faithful support of the federal constitution, in its purity and strictness, and an honest co-operation in the system of policy delineated by Jefferson, and now supported by our venerable Chief Magistrate; that in respect to measures which involve the integrity of the Constitution, and the freedom and happiness of the People, she has no compromise to offer; but as to the agents by whom those measures are to be carried into effect, she only desires that they should cherish the principles, possess the confidence, and be indicated by the collected will, of the Democracy of the Union.

In conclusion, we appeal to the intelligence and patriotism of all classes of our constituents; and whatever may have been their former political sentiments or connexions, we earnestly entreat them carefully to examine, and solemnly to decide—whether the present crisis is not, in truth such an one as we have described it—whether it does not involve an issue of momentous import, between the Aristocracy on the one hand, and the Friends of Equal Rights and Free Institutions on the other—and whether they do not owe it to themselves and their posterity; to the honor of their state; to the integrity of the Constitution, and the permanency of our glorious Union, to rally in opposition to the great monied dynasty which now virtually denies to the agents of the people, and to the people themselves, the government of the country.

SILAS WRIGHT, Jr.
NATH. P. TALLMADGE,
JOHN ADAMS,
SAMUEL BEARDSLEY,
ABRAHAM BOCKEE,
CHARLES BODLE,
JOHN W. BROWN,
C. C. CAMBRELENG,
SAMUEL CLARK,
JOHN CRAMER,
ROWLAND DAY,
WM. K. FULLER,
RANSOM H. GILLET,
NICOLL HALSEY,
SAMUEL G. HATHAWAY,
EDWARD HOWELL,
ABEL HUNTINGTON,
NOADIAH JOHNSON,
GERRIT Y. LANSING,
ABIAH MANN, Jr.
CHARLES McVEAN,
HENRY MITCHELL,
SHERMAN PAGE,
JOB PIERSON,
WILLIAM TAYLOR,
JOEL TURRILL,
AARON VANDERPOEL,
ISAAC VAN HOUTEN,
AARON WARD,
DANIEL WARDWELL,
REUBEN WHALION,
CAMPBELL P. WHITE.

Washington, June 30, 1834.